

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-15 INR-10 EUR-25 EB-11 L-03 IO-13

RSR-01 RSC-01 /094 W

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R 281045 VZ JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4888

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA UR

SUBJ: NIXON/TANAKA SUMMIT BACKGROUND PAPER - IX:

JAPAN- USSR RELATIONS

SUMMARY: FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES AND SUSPICIONS CONTINUE TO INHIBIT COMFORTABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND USSR. HOWEVER, BOTH SIDES ARE PREPARED FOR LIMITED COOPERATION WHERE MUTUAL BENEFIT IS CLEAR, NOTABLY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIA. EACH HAS ADDED THOUGH DIFFERING INCENTIVE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS STEMMING FROM ATTITUDES TOWARD PRC. JAPAN WILL NOT ABANDON NORTHERN TERRITORIES BUT IS PREPARED TO WAIT. END SUMMARY.

1. FUNDAMENTAL ANTIPATHIES -- USSR AND JAPAN, SINCE THEIR EMERGENCE AS MODERN STATES, HAVE NEVER HAD COMFORTABLE RELATIONS. PROSPECTS ARE NO MORE LIKELY NOW, FOR EACH CONTINUES TO VIEW OTHER AS POTENTIAL THREAT TO NATIONAL INTERESTS. JAPAN SEES SOVIET MILITARY POWER AS ONLY LIKELY THREAT TO ITS SECURITY, AND WOULD VIEW RESUMPTION OF CLOSE SINO- SOVIET TIES AS POSSIBLE PRELUDE TO DISASTER. USSR IS NOW SOLE TARGET OF JAPANESE IRREDENTIST SENTIMENT: NORTHERN TERRITORIES ARE ONLY NATIVE SOIL NOT YET RETURNED TO JAPANESE CONTROL. TO GREAT EXTENT, SOVIET VIEW IS MIRROR IMAGE OF THESE JAPANESE ANXIETIES AND SUSPICIONS. SINO- JAPANESE ENTENTE COULD THWART SOVIET INTERESTS IN ASIA

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AND EVEN THREATEN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FAR EAST. AMONG USSR'S NEIGHBORS, ONLY JAPAN SERIOUSLY CONTESTS BOUNDARIES IMPOSED BY VICTORS IN WORLD WAR II.

2. CONTEMPLATING THE SUMMIT -- DESPITE FUNDAMENTAL SUSPICIONS AND DIFFERENCES, BOTH SIDES -- AS THEY CONTEMPLATE PROBABILITY OF TANAKA- BREZHNEV SUMMIT IN LATE SEPTEMBER OR EARLY OCTOBER -- SEE ADVANTAGES IN TAKING LEAF FROM PRESIDENT NIXON'S BOOK AND CONCENTRATING ON AREAS OF POTENTIAL BENEFIT: FOR USSR, JAPANESE INVESTMENT AND TECHNOLOGY; FOR JAPAN, GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF KEY NATURAL RESOURCES, IN PARTICULAR PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS. FONOFF BELIEVES PRIMARY SOVIET GOAL AT SUMMIT WILL BE TO GET FIRM GOJ COMMITMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIA, SPECIFICALLY FOR MASSIVE CREDITS. THIS CONCLUSION SEEMS TO SQUARE WITH EVENTS OF PAST SIX MONTHS, DURING WHICH SOVIETS HAVE ALTERNATELY CAJOLED, ENTICED, ADMONISHED AND THREATENED BOTH GOJ AND JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN. NEGOTIATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS HAVE PROCEEDED FITFULLY AS SOVIETS OCCASIONALLY INSISTED ON UNEXPLAINED DELAYS OR AT OTHER TIMES HELD OUT PROSPECT OF PREFERENTIAL ACCESS TO KEY RESOURCES IF ONLY GOJ WOULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING. AT PRESENT, SOVIET TACTIC WITH BUSINESSMEN IS ONE OF ENCOURAGEMENT: USSR HAS SUGGESTED FOUR SEPARATE NEGOTIATING SESSIONS DURING JULY ( ON YAKUTSK COAL, YAKUTSK NATURAL GAS, SAKHALIN OIL AND GAS, AND TYUMEN OIL) CULMINATING IN MEETING OF BINATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE IN LATE JULY; SPECIFIC TIMING, HOWEVER, REMAINS INDEFINITE. AT SAME TIME, SOVIET TREATMENT OF GOJ HAS BEEN CAVALIER: TANAKA WAS KEPT WAITING SIX WEEKS TO LEARN WHEN HE MIGHT BE SELCOME IN MOSCOW, ONLY TO BE TOLD THAT VISIT MUST BE DELAYED ONE MONTH BEYOND DESIRED TIMING, WHILE SOVIETS WOULD INSTEAD RECEIVE SUPRA- PARTISAN DELEGATION OF DIET MEMBERS AT EARLIER DATE. IN ADDITION TO THESE SOVIET MOVES ( WHICH APPEAR LITTLE MORE THAN HARRASSMENT), FONOFF EXPECTS USSR TO FLAUNT COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS WITH FRG AND US AS WARNING THAT JAPAN RISKS BEING EXCLUDED FROM PRODUCTS AND PROFITS OF SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT.

3. POLITICAL QUID FOR ECONOMIC QUO -- TANAKA HAS STATED  
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PUBLICLY THAT HE WILL NOT LINK POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN SEEKING IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH USSR. MOREOVER, GOJ POLICY OF DIVERSIFYING SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS -- ESPECIALLY PETROLEUM BUT INCLUDING NUCLEAR FUEL -- WOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE RETIONALE FOR MAJOR DEALS WITH USSR. NEVERTHELESS, FONOFF FRANKLY STATES THAT JAPAN'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVE AT SUMMIT IS TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE TREATY, INCLUDING RETURN OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES, FONOFF IS NOT OVERLY SANGUINE ABOUT PROSPECTS IN NEAR TERM, BUT NOTES THAT SOVIET DIPLOMATS HAVE STATED SUBJECT WOULD ONLY BE HANDLED AT HIGHEST LEVEL. FONOFF ( UNLESS OVERRULED BY TANAKA) IS PREPARED TO BE FIRM, EVEN AT RISK OF FOREGOING FULL RANGE OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AGREEMENTS THAT WOULD

GIVE SUMMIT AURA OF SUCCESS. ( FONOFF APPREHENSION THAT TIME IS NOT RIPE FOR REAL PROGRESS AT TANAKA- BREZHNEV MEETING HAS BEEN DEEPENED AS IT CONTEMPLATES PROBABLE CONTRAST WITH ACHIEVEMENTS OF NIXON- BREZHNEV SUMMIT.) AS FALLBACK, TANAKA WILL SEEK SOVIET VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND TAKE FURTHER SOUNDINGS OF SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD PERMANENT UNSC SEAT FOR JAPAN. PRESUMABLY BREZHNEV WILL ALSO HAVE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, NOTABLY WOOING JAPAN AWAY FROM CLOSER RELATIONS WITH PRC AND GAINING SOME DEGREE OF JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE FOR ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL. ON FORMER POINT, GOJ SEES DEFINITE ADVANTAGE IN IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW IN TANDEM WITH IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH PEKING, SINCE TOKYO WILL BENEFIT FROM RIVAL BLANDISHMENTS OF BOTH, AND COULD SUFFER IF ONE OR OTHER CONCLUDES THAT JAPAN IS TILTING TOWARD ITS ENEMY. ON LATTER, GOJ WOULD AGREE TO PLATITUDINOUS REFERENCE IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE, BUT OTHERWISE IS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ANYTHING THAT SMACKS OF MBFR OR CSCE FOR ASIA.

4. LONGER TERM PROSPECTS -- SPARRING WHICH CHARACTERIZES CURRENT DELICATE STAGE IN RUSSO- JAPANESE RELATIONS MAY ATTENUATE BUT PROBABLY NEVER DISAPPEAR. BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUE CAUTIOUS ADVANCE TOWARD LIMITED OBJECTIVES: MUTUAL BENEFIT IN DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN RESOURCES, OCCASIONAL COLLABORATION IN UN AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS ( LOS IN CASE IN POINT), AND CONSCIOUS EFFORTS TO DEFUSE OR MODERATE SITUATIONS WHICH HOLD SEEDS OF

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CONFLICT ( KOREAN PENINSULA). WITH REPECT TO NORTHERN TERRITORIES, JAPAN IS PREPARED TO WAIT, APPARENTLY CONVINCED THAT IN DUE COURSE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL PERMIT USSR TO RELAX ITS GRIP.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 15 APR 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** elyme  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973TOKYO08169  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730636/dccbkabn.tel  
**Line Count:** 148  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a <jms 19990419 STADIS IS NOTED ON DOCUMENT>; STADIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** elyme  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 26 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <26-Sep-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <09-Nov-2001 by elyme>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> jms 19990419  
**Subject:** NIXON/TANAKA SUMMIT BACKGROUND PAPER - IX: JAPAN- USSR RELATIONS  
**TAGS:** PFOR JA UR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005